**DOCUMENT RESUME**

**ED 071 943** **SO 005 079**

| | |
|---|---|
| TITLE | Pressure Groups and the Urban Community: Processes and Materials. Project Canada West. |
| INSTITUTION | Western Curriculum Project on Canada Studies, Edmonton (Alberta). |
| PUB DATE | Jun 72 |
| NOTE | 41p. |
| EDRS PRICE | MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29 |
| DESCRIPTORS | *City Government; *Civics; Curriculum Development; Governmental Structure; Inquiry Training; Interdisciplinary Approach; Local Government; Political Issues; *Political Power; Political Science; Political Socialization; Problem Solving; Projects; Secondary Grades; *Social Sciences; Student Attitudes; Surveys; *Urban Studies |
| IDENTIFIERS | Canada; *Project Canada West |

ABSTRACT

The project's activities during the past year to develop a process for analysis of the working of pressure groups in the political decision-making process are discussed in this report. In addition, information is given on the organization and developmental processes which the team used in the formulation and adaption of a unit. In the first part of the report the strengths and weaknesses of the processes of curriculum development are reviewed. The second part, dealing with samples of materials developed to date, provides a handbook for teachers which includes some of the basic ideas gathered from the various social sciences and assists the teacher in gaining a quick survey of the vast materials the team studied in the initial stages of the project. Suggestive rather than prescriptive, the handbook guides teachers in exploring any given civic issues by using a case study approach. The third part reports the involvement of supporting agencies. Also included is a summary of the pilot project and a specific case study, St. Leonard (Quebec). Major objectives, a framework, and a list of generalizations on the project are given in the related document ED 055 014. (SJM)

ED 071943

# PRESSURE GROUPS AND THE URBAN COMMUNITY

## PROCESSES AND MATERIALS

JUNE 1972

SO 005079

Western Curriculum Project
on Canada Studies

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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PILOT PROJECT

ST. LÉONARD CASE STUDY

PROJECT CANADA WEST - LETHBRIDGE TEAM

AUGUST 1972 WORKSHOP (BANFF)

"POLIDEMA"

# THE EFFECTS OF PRESSURE GROUPS ON POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING

## INTRODUCTION

The Lethbridge Team for Project Canada West has selected a shortened version of our full title, POLIDEMA.

The main thrust of our activities in the past year has been that of developing a process that can be used to analyse the working of pressure groups in the political decision-making process. As a result of our efforts in this direction, we were unable to utilize student participation as fully as we had hoped to, but we feel we are now at the stage where we can initiate a thorough involvement with students. Our pilot projects have indicated the possibility for this and we are looking toward this phase optimistically.

There is no doubt that the process of curriculum development is an arduous time-consuming activity. However, the challenge is exciting and rewarding. In the first part of our report we will give our impressions of our own experiences and the strengths and weakness as we saw them under our arrangement.

The second part will deal with some of the materials we have developed to date. These are merely samples, some of which the team has produced and others by the students. Our attempt to get Canada-wide applicability is seen by the inclusion of a survey done by a university student on the St. Leonard school-language issue.

The third part of our report deals with the involvement of supporting agencies, although frequent references to this are made in part one.

The success of our project will be to a large extent measured by the field testing in the coming year. The results of our initial pilot projects were gratifying, but we realize these will have to be expanded to involve non-team or project members.

## PART I: PROCESS OF CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

The Lethbridge team is one of the fourteen teams under the auspices of Project Canada West assigned to develop current units on urbanization and civic studies in the Canadian context. Although a report was submitted on the work done in the inaugural year it seems best to review some of that material in the light of developments to the end of June, 1972. This report will, among other items, give some indication of the organization and developmental processes which the team used in the formulation and adoption of a specific curriculum unit.

Lethbridge is a small city which is centered in an agricultural community, one where there is a visible and definite attempt to duplicate the urbanization process that is taking place in most parts of the modern world. It seemed relevant, to a few teachers in the city, to use the locale as a study in the political decision-making in Canada. The first major problem that had to be overcome was to find a group of teachers who were conscious of the developing society and who were prepared to devote the necessary time and effort required for this project. The resultant team came from three school jurisdictions and two levels of schools: the Lethbridge Public schools, Lethbridge Catholic Separate schools and the Lethbridge County (rural) schools; the junior high schools and the senior high schools. This representation had definite advantages, but also presented several difficulties. The difficulties were those of co-ordinating activities so that all systems could feel equally involved and of developing a curriculum unit that had applicability to a fairly wide spectrum of school population both with respect to age and to philosophy and social environment. Another difficulty lay in the teaching background of the team members, while a considerable problem also existed in finding time and opportunities for the members to meet. These problems were offset, to some degree, by developing a curriculum unit with greater scope for application, by a very useful educational experience for the team members, and by a degree of involvement of the supervisory personnel of the school jurisdictions.

To make the above generalities more meaningful to teachers who may desire to duplicate our experiences, it seems useful to report on some of the details that this team has experienced. One of the first problems encountered was to specify a topic that students do not comprehend very well and which they do not appear to know very well even after they have 'covered' that topic in their course of studies. This topic should be relevant to their lives and should be

subject to both discovery method teaching and other methods. The team became convinced, from their observations, that students do not understand how political decisions are made, particularly at the municipal level, and how the decision-makers are influenced in their acts. This became our center of interest and our topic for development.

The choice of this topic soon revealed the differences that existed in the team members knowledge of political science in application. The problem we faced was to educate our members in a subject which they knew rather inadequately. We therefore proceeded to have our members take some informal courses in political science. Here we were most fortunate. The local university personnel gladly met with our team to discuss and explain several areas of interest to us. For several weeks we had meetings of the team and co-operative professors who answered our questions, explained processes, and supplied us with bibliographies on the topic. Our contacts here led us to do considerable reading and formulating of theses on political decision-making. To partly test these theses we proceeded to interview individuals who had been, or still were, involved in local civic affairs at both the formal and informal levels. This process of educating the team members enabled us to clarify our thinking in relation to the concept that students are probably missing the vital parts of municipal government.

We discussed how we could discover with some degree of accuracy the knowledge-level of students in this area. Our decision was to develop a questionnaire that could be used by teachers at almost any level of schooling and in any area of Canada, this was done and a sample is enclosed in this report. Again, the sophistication necessary to develop good questions and then to evaluate the responses was lacking in our team, but once more the staff of the University came to our assistance. The analysis of the questionnaire results indicated a further step for the team. Why not pick out a local controversy and research it as a specific case study to discover how the principles of decision-making were applied or were subverted? Such a topic was available in the siting of the University of Lethbridge, a natural subject for educators.

The research experience of the team was almost non-existant and a genuine problem was encountered in devising means to look at the subject without bias being built-in. Our team started with meetings in which we attempted to develop the chronology of events and the roles of individuals that had eventually led to the final decision. To validate these views we proceeded to contact the

local press and obtain from them access to, and copies of, their own clipping service. This provided a complete news media coverage of events, letters to the editor and other topics that bore some relation to our study. These clippings also revealed, to some extent, the persons and groups who had exerted some influence on the decision-makers. Our follow-up to this was interviews and taped records of these interviews to obtain first-hand record of how they had influenced the decision in relation to the University of Lethbridge. These interviews were preceded by our careful consideration of questions that they would be asked, questions which hopefully would reveal how pressure was exerted on the decision-makers. Some additional detail is included elsewhere in this report. The value of this exercise was two-fold - to help the team members recognize how pressure groups operate and to improve their expertise in questioning techniques in this area. An analysis of the work done was carried out as well.

Subsequent to this brief project we then proceeded to compare our methods with those that could be utilized to do a similar study on other topics. Several things were done to test the validity and applicability of our methodology. A comparison was made with two controversies that were current in Quebec. Here we arranged for consultant services with Professor Gold who was doing similar research in eastern Canada. He submitted somewhat similar documentation of public decision-making and the roles of different groups. We include some of this material also in other parts of this report.

At this time the team members who were able to do so attended Project Canada West workshops and the conference of the National Council for the Social Studies. These contacts were to broaden their perspective both of curriculum developments in Canada and the U.S.A. but also to help them differentiate between the theoretical concepts of civic studies and goals in different parts of North America. Combining these experiences with our completed project we developed a short "teacher's handbook" for the use of others who might wish to study a local development and analyse how the decisions were reached by the political body.

This "handbook" is also included in the report. Using this as a basis some members of the team took pilot classes in their schools and undertook to direct the students in a research of a project of a related nature. At the date of writing of this report only one had been completed. This one, however, had some very interesting results. We feel that the outcome has justified much

of the effort put forth by the team members. The teachers can develop curriculum material for their systems. Although literature on the subject of decision-making is widespread there are definite differences between the Canadian and U.S.A. scene, as well as between communities. These nuances of differentiation are significant to students - in fact it is the difference that is educationally relevant to them. Research techniques can become very sophisticated but even simple ones are not always in the repertoire of teachers. The involvement of teachers and system supervisors leads to greater involvement of other agencies and it is significant to note the greater awareness of community material and personnel that are available for educational purposes.

The problems of the project only served to educate the team members and provide more interest to the students.

## PART II: MATERIALS

The effects of pressure groups on the decision-making process is both intriguing and complex. Due to these factors, the team felt that unless a teacher was able to do a great deal of background work in this area, the curriculum produced would be of little value. It was with this in mind that that team went about to develop a handbook for teachers which would include some of the basic ideas gathered from the various social sciences and assist the teacher in gaining a quick survey of the vast materials the team studied in the initial stages of the project.

The materials referred to and the suggestions offered in the handbook are by no means all inclusive nor is the procedure the only approach which teachers with imagination and creativity could explore, expand and improve upon. However, we attempted to aim at a procedure that could be handled by virtually all teachers with a minimal amount of background preparation. The handbook should be of real assistance in this respect since it offers suggestions and ideas which the teacher, using this approach, could adapt for his/her own particular situation. It was not our intent that the handbook be prescriptive but rather a guide to explore any given civic issue selected by the teacher and/or students.

With reference to specific objectives for the study (see p.3 Handbook) we felt it desirable to omit these since the teacher using the materials would be in the best position to select those which he/she thought most suitable and obtainable. We do suggest, however, that the objectives finally selected should include the skill, cognitive and affective domains.

In order to test the authenticity of the approach advocated in the handbook, two experimental studies were carried out. The one, due to circumstance beyond our control, was not completed on time for an adequate analysis. The second pilot study, conducted by one of the team members, proved to be successful and rewarding. It indicated to us that the procedure does indeed work and it should be applicable to any region or city in Canada.

Following is a "Summary of Pilot Project" which serves as an indication that the procedure is indeed functional. Also included is a sample of data students collected. A word of caution is in order here. It is imperative that as many different sources of data as possible be gathered. Other sources include of course official documents and briefs as well as taped interviews.

An additional case study was conducted on the St. Leonard, Quebec school-language issue. The study was initiated by Dr. G. L. Gold of York University, Glendon College, who is one of the consultants to our project. In this case, only one student was involved, but because of the short time he was able to devote to the case, this was necessitated. The major portion of the report on the issue is included in our report. Two other issues were suggested by Dr. Gold and we will try to follow these up in the next semester, using groups of students to analyse the data sent regarding the Sturgeon Falls and Moncton language issues. The purpose of these case studies is to give our project Canada-wide applicability.

For the fall semester, several teachers have been approached to conduct pilot studies for our teams. They have shown a keen interest and their co-operation is gratefully acknowledged. One of our prime concerns for the coming year is to develop evaluative procedures and instruments to assist us in arriving at some very objective evaluation as to the worthwhileness of our project.

## PART III: SUPPORTING AGENCIES

There is no doubt that without the assistance, in the form of leadership and finances, the task of the team would have been even more difficult. Frequent consultation with Dr. Sabey, keeping us informed of the purposes of our project as well as those of the foundation, were indeed a necessity. Because of this aspect of curriculum development, it is most unlikely that independent projects could actually hope to flourish. We see the need for specific guidance, which was provided for us, as crucial.

In the area of funding, which made it possible for release time as well as the purchase of materials, the support given by the various agencies permitted the team to utilize their time and energy towards the task at hand. If and when school boards and departments of education really become seriously involved in teacher-oriented curriculum development, both funds and leadership must be made available. Teachers can develop curriculum but not without the advantage of the funding and leadership mentioned above.

The role of pilot teachers is a matter of great concern. These must be willing to experiment with the materials and keep a detailed record which should be available to the team. These records ought to include comments by students, criticisms (positive and negative) to assist the team in making the necessary revisions. Also it should give the team the advantage of benefiting from the experiences of such teachers. Some extra time and effort will be required on the part of piloting teachers and there should be some form of remuneration or assistance from the project team for this purpose. It may also involve some additional release time for briefing.

The support, interest and involvement of the provincial Teachers' Associations has been tremendous. Without this co-operative effort as well as the use of their facilities the job could not have been done as well. Their participation on the Board of Trustees and at annual conventions has meant a great deal to the Project.

The role of students cannot and should never be omitted. Although we have not involved students as fully as we had hoped, their eagerness to co-operate has been gratifying. It is also apparent from the success other teams have had with student involvement and participation that this is an imperative aspect of curriculum development. Curriculum cannot be developed in a vacuum and the classroom participation is an integral part of its development, in the form of trial testing and incorporating student needs and concerns.

# EFFECTS OF PRESSURE GROUPS ON POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING

## (A CASE-STUDY APPROACH)

A HANDBOOK FOR SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS

PREPARED BY THE LETHBRIDGE TEAM FOR

PROJECT CANADA WEST

## PREFACE

The phenomena of urbanization has become a reality of our times, bringing with it a multiplicity of problems that affect the social, economic, physical and psychological well-being of the inhabitants of urban living. The increasing size of metropolitan areas acts in reverse order to the feelings of frustration and confinement that many people are beginning to experience. Such feelings stem from an inadequate perspective of how one survives in the urban community. Implicit in the search for identity in the urban community is a recognition and understanding of the political process. This becomes more important by the dynamic nature of the process itself; it is on-going, it involves change, and it fluctuates. More specifically, it refers to those actions that have as their end result the creation of institutions, laws, and regulations by which man is governed, i.e. it is the <u>how</u>, <u>why</u>, and the <u>when</u> of politics.

If we continue to subscribe to the democratic notion that the individual should have a say in the process of government, then it is imperative that he develop some insight into the political decision-making process. He must do more than vote; he must develop some awareness of the manipulation of public opinion by pressure groups and political party organizations. It is to this end that this case study dealing with pressure group activity is directed.

H. Skolrood
H. Krause
D. Kanashiro
M. Clark
E. Eisler
V. Van Orman

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## INTRODUCTION

In recent times the population growth taking place in cities has created a number of problems for urban governments. Many of them are finding it increasingly difficult to cope satisfactorily with problems in many areas:- transportation, health, and education. The result is dissatisfaction and frustration, both at the level of government and in the mind of the average citizen.

Such problems are no longer the concern of the elected representatives in the community, but the concern of all the people. Individual frustration develops because the person is unable to visualize clearly his role in bringing about needed change necessary to reduce urban stress.

If prospective citizens are going to be able to analyze the situation and from this analysis see some semblance of a method for change, then an approach that incorporates a framework for dealing with problems and issues that affect the political and social environment of the urban community needs to be available to the high school student.

The concept of a pressure group as a means whereby a citizen may legitimately become involved in the process of effecting political change deserves careful examination. While it is not always desirable or feasible for a high school student to become active in a pressure group at a particular time, nonetheless, it is imperative that he understand how pressure groups operate so that when the opportunity is ripe he will be able to function more effectively with the realization that this is a legal and commonly accepted procedure for making his wishes known. By understanding how a pressure group works, his knowledge of the political decision-making process will be enhanced. Subsequent participation will be more realistic.

The intent of this case-study approach is to give a meaningful perspective towards the various decision-making processes in the urban community. By developing certain basic skills utilizing content from the many disciplines, the student will

acquire both a breadth and depth in his understanding of civic government.

Hopefully, a model for the analysis of political issues will emerge in the mind of the student. The broad parameters of such a model would include the following:

a) Recognition of the political issue.
b) Determination of the feasible alternatives toward the solution of each issue.
c) Consideration of various consequences of each issue.
d) Rational selection of the best possible solution.

This handbook is created to assist the teacher in the implementation of the above as one model designed to provide a practical method of analyzing a potential issue. It is important for teachers to understand the theoretical base upon which the model is designed. Specific content, i.e. a local issue, can be studied through the use of this model. For purposes of organization this handbook provides:

a) a statement of the intended learning outcomes and specific skills to accomplish them;
b) an indication of how to select content and organize it;
c) a description of specific learning activities and how they are organized;
d) a listing of specific teaching strategies designed to accomplish the objectives;
e) some suggested techniques for student and teacher evaluation and feedback.

In no way are the procedures outlined herein designed to be all inclusive, rather it is hoped that they will encourage teacher imagination and creativity.

## INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By studying student status with respect to how much they know about municipal government and the political process, it was agreed that there was a definite deficiency which could be met by certain objectives in the social science courses.

The overriding general objective is that students ought to possess more factual information regarding the process of local government. In view of this general objective, students should study the effects of pressure groups that operate at the political level in the urban community.

The preponderance of literature related to this topic indicates that pressure groups do exert influence on the political decision-making of the urban community. Consequently, the following associated tentative generalizations are considered valid. It is hoped that the specific objectives finally selected will enable the student to acquire specific insights regarding the political process, as well as to foster social, intellectual, and emotional maturity.

In summary, the selection of curriculum materials will be influenced by the following guidelines:

- a demonstrated lack of knowledge among students regarding the functions of the political system.
- the need for students to acquire a knowledge of how the decision-making process operates in the urban community.

## TENTATIVE GENERALIZATIONS

1. Pressure groups exist for specific purposes, having both immediate and long range goals.
2. Pressure groups do exist for political purposes.
3. Pressure groups are a viable and legitimate force for bringing about change or resisting change within the democratic system.
4. Every urban community has its own power elite, which largely determines the outcome of politics in that community.
5. Pressure groups can be an integrated part of this power elite, or they may be an external force whose presence cannot be ignored.
6. Pressure groups can help sustain this power elite, or they may defeat the elite.
7. A close examination of a pressure group should normally show that some are more successful than others.
8. Many pressure groups are formed on an ad hoc basis when a particular issue threatens a segment of society.
9. Ad hoc pressure groups are generally less successful than well established pressure groups.
10. Pressure groups which have a definitive economic concern are usually more durable than others.
11. Pressure groups may not always be aware of their association as being an active and viable pressure group.
12. Pressure groups may effectively block or modify policy if it is a direct threat to their own existence.
13. A group of persons is more effective than an individual in creating political stress and consequently pressure groups are more successful in creating stress than individual persons.
14. An individual or group can be politically effective in creating stress if the issue embraced is of majority concern.
15. Political decision-makers are sensitive to the stress created by public demands or pressure groups; the greater the stress the greater the likelihood of favorable policy.
16. The political system requires inputs from various sources to assist it in decision-making. Pressure groups generally provide this service effectively.
17. The political agitation of pressure groups seems to lessen as the group's objectives are either met or they consider the issue to be beyond their sphere of influence.

18. Methods or tactics employed by pressure groups to create stress vary depending on the issue at stake.
19. Several pressure groups may combine on certain issues to present a consolidated front.

## RELATED CONCEPTS

The following concepts and subconcepts are taken from the disciplines history, anthropology, sociology, political science, economics, psychology and geography.

| MAJOR CONCEPT | SUB-CONCEPTS |
|---|---|
| A. POLITICAL SYSTEM | 1. Political Activity |
| | 2. Government Activity |
| | 3. Elitism |
| | 4. Bureaucracy |
| B. POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING | 1. Political Decision |
| | 2. Political Efficacy |
| | 3. Manipulation |
| | 4. Accommodation |
| | 5. Alienation |
| C. PRESSURE GROUP | 1. Stress |
| | 2. Vested Interest |

## IMPLEMENTATION

At the outset of this unit, it is essential to determine the students political awareness and the degree of alienation in regard to their role as a member of society in the decision-making process. One effective method of determining student status is the use of a questionnaire. See sample questionnaire.

Step I

- Administer questionnaire.

Step II

- Analysis of the questionnaire jointly by students and teacher. This is very likely to show there is some degree of student alienation.

Step III

- At this stage it is essential for the teacher and the students' to examine why alienation and apathy exist. The examination of this question should reveal that the students alienation and apathy are due to their feeling of ineffectiveness in influencing political decisions made within their community.

Step IV

- The teacher and students should now attempt to determine how they might effectively become involved in the decision-making process. One effective avenue available to this is the pressure group. The case study approach is suggested since it does involve the students in the decision-making process.

Step V

- Procedure for developing a case-study.

Step VI

- Select a civic issue and follow through as outlined in Step III.

## PROCEDURE FOR DEVELOPING A CASE STUDY

1. Definition of what constitutes a civic issue or problem:
   elements
   - controversy
   - viable alternatives
   - degree of stress
   - conflicting values
   - consequences (immediate - long range)
   - costs to taxpayers

2. Problems to be considered:
   1. How are civic issues resolved?
   2. What is the role of pressure groups in the resolution of a civic issue? (This does not rule out other processes).
   3. How do pressure groups determine the resolution of a civic issue?
   4. What factors determine the effectiveness of pressure groups in the resolutions of a civic issue?

3. Collection of data:
   - newspaper reports (editorials, letters to the editor, official news releases, etc.)
   - interviews (specific and random samples)
   - maps, charts, graphs, photos, etc.
   - Commission reports and studies, eg. UFACE
   - City Council Minutes (if available)

4. Analysis of Data:
   - identify the alternatives or options presented in the data
   - classify the data on the basis of
     - support or rejection
     - values and biases
     - weighting - primary source
       - secondary source

5. Conclusions:
   - Identification of the hypothesis that are tenable as a result of the analysis of the data.

## LEARNING ACTIVITIES

A. Interviews

B. Data Collection
   - primary documents
   - secondary reports

C. Data Analysis

D. Discussion Groups

E. Speakers

F. Panel Discussion and Open Forum

G. Simulation, Gaming and Role Playing

H. Debates

I. Questionnaires

J. Written Assignments
   - briefs
   - notes
   - reports
   - essays
   - paragraphs

K. Lectures

L. Interpretation of Charts, Graphs, Models, etc.

M. Speeches

N. Cartoons

O. Ad INFINITUM

# EVALUATION

## A. Purposes of Evaluation

1. To determine to what extent the students have moved toward the fulfillment of the objectives as stated.
2. To provide insight into the effectiveness of the materials used.
3. To provide information to the teacher as to the effectiveness of the unit.
4. To examine the attitudes and values the students hold and to assist them in clarifying their values.
5. To provide information to the students as to their performance and how they might improve or adjust their performance.

## B. Concern

It is evident that the area of evaluation is complex since it involves not only the cognitive domain but also the affective and psychomotor.

## C. Suggested Evaluative Procedures

Until extensive field testing is carried out we are unable to determine these procedures.

## SUMMARY

The major concern is to overcome the feelings of alienation and apathy of the students toward the political process. The method presented in this handbook provides a viable means of participation in the decision-making process.

The final outcome of this study is to a large degree dependent on the objectives selected, motivation of the students, availability of community resources, preparation by both teachers and students and the suitability of activities selected. It is imperative that the case study selected be one that will provide those kinds of learning experiences which will help students to understand the political decision-making process and their role in that process. Those issues that have been resolved seem to lend themselves most satisfactorily to the case study approach.

It is highly desirable that evaluation be an ongoing process. At every phase of the study students should be encouraged to conduct their own evaluation. A post test similar to the questionnaire may be useful in determining change in the students' attitudes and values. Whatever evaluative instruments are employed, they should ensure that all levels of learning, cognitive, affective and psychomotor are indeed evaluated.

## MODEL CASE STUDY

1. State the problem:

   - The siting of the University of Lethbridge was a controversial issue.

2. Examine the inputs:

   - vested land interests
   - ORRPC
   - Chamber of Commerce
   - Downtown Business Association
   - North Lethbridge Business Association
   - U and L Faculty, Council
   - U of L Students' Council
   - Lethbridge Taxpayers Association
   - Media (editorials, etc.)
   - University Board of Governors
   - professionals (UPACE, City manager, architects)
   - MLA
   - private citizens

3. Process involved in decision-making:

   - chronology of events
   - resolution; involvement -
   - legal constraints

   - city council
   - board of governors
   - provincial cabinet

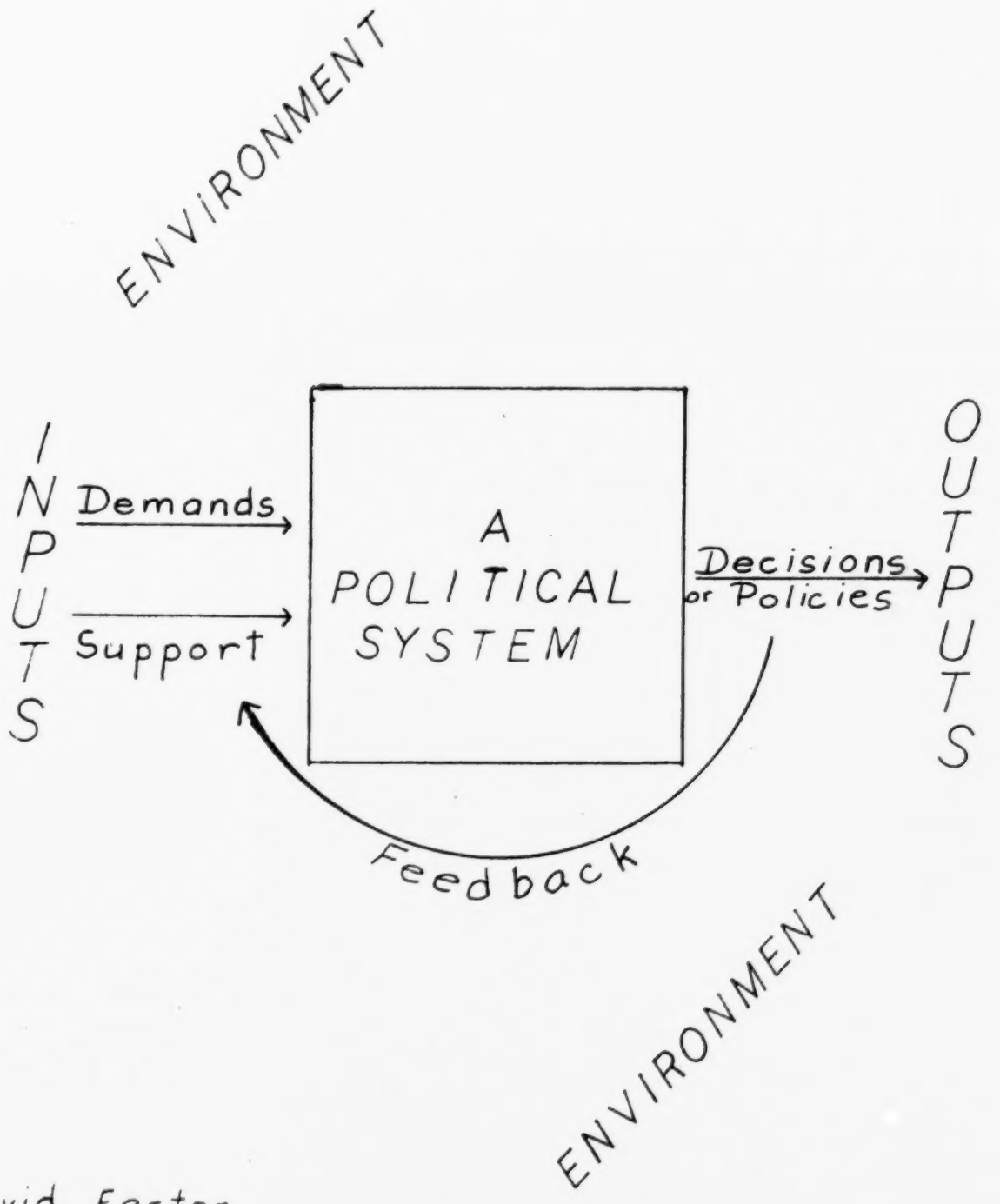
4. Analysis of the process:

   - examination of values, interests, etc.
   - examination of screening

5. Conclusion:

NOTE: See the David Easton Model on the Political Process

# POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING




David Easton

## SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN FORMULATED TO REFLECT STUDENT OPINION AND ATTITUDE OF THE DECISION MAKING PROCESSES IN THE URBAN COMMUNITY.

PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR PRESENT GRADE: 9 10 11 12

PLEASE CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE INDICATOR: MALE FEMALE

ON THE RIGHT HAND SIDE OF THE PAGE IS THE FOLLOWING SCALE:

SA A U D SD WHERE SA MEANS STRONGLY AGREE
A MEANS AGREE
U MEANS UNDECIDED
D MEANS DISAGREE
SD MEANS STRONGLY DISAGREE

PLEASE RESPOND TO EACH ITEM BY CIRCLING THE RESPONSE WHICH COMES CLOSEST TO YOUR POSITION: THAT IS, IF YOU STRONGLY AGREE WITH AN ITEM CIRCLE SA AND SO ON.

1. The most important thing about being a citizen is that a person can vote at election time. SA A U D SD
2. The main function of government at any level is to control people by restricting their activities. SA A U D SD
3. I know well at least one student on our STUDENTS' COUNCIL. SA A U D SD
4. The home owner should support local industry, even if it means paying more than his share of the tax load, provided it is for the good of the community as a whole. SA A U D SD
5. I am consulted when the gang, that is, my eight closest friends, make a group decision which involves me. SA A U D SD
6. Decision making in government is more efficient as the research and resolution of problems is given over to committees of citizens. SA A U D SD
7. If a home owner wishes to have the alley behind his house paved, the best approach to get action would be to contact the city manager. SA A U D SD
8. Local school officials can freely make educational decisions such as the planning and construction of schools, the introduction of courses of study, etc. that affect you personally in school. SA A U D SD

9. Law is the expression of the people as a whole, rather than the expression of certain individuals. SA A U D SD

10. Decision making in government is more <u>effective</u> as the research and resolution of the problems are given over to committees of citizens. SA A U D SD

11. I can influence decisions made by STUDENTS' COUNCIL. SA A U D SD

12. Our form of government would function best if 100% of the citizens remained politically responsive and concerned not only during an election, but from one election through to the next. SA A U D SD

13. There is generally policy agreement among local, provincial and federal levels of government. SA A U D SD

14. The gang, that is, my eight closest friends, are influenced by my suggestions with respect to group decisions. SA A U D SD

15. I understand how decisions are made in my family. SA A U D SD

16. I am generally aware of provincial governmental policies. SA A U D SD

17. Bureaucracy is a term which refers to civil service of any government. SA A U D SD

18. Governments respond more quickly to people's emotions than to their reasoning. SA A U D SD

19. I can influence City Council on the making of policy. SA A U D SD

20. Government has <u>only</u> three functions: to make laws, to interpret those laws, and to enforce those laws. SA A U D SD

21. I have discussed family financial committments with my parents. SA A U D SD

22. If governmental decisions are made on the basis of majority rule, they must be the best decisions. SA A U D SD

23. Sometimes I discuss the federal government's policies with my friends. SA A U D SD

24. My parents have been influenced by my recommendations with respect to large family purchases. SA A U D SD

25. Political activity is the function of elected officials alone. SA A U D SD

26. The main function of government at any level is to facilitate the activities of its citizens. SA A U D SD

27. I have discussed STUDENT COUNCIL business with a member of STUDENTS' COUNCIL. SA A U D SD

28. In deciding where to locate a city's new sports complex, a city council would be guided primarily by this principle: public buildings will be located where they will serve the greatest number of citizens. SA A U D SD

29. I have discussed <u>at length</u> City Council business with an adult. SA A U D SD

30. If I wanted to have the city install traffic lights on my street corner, I would get quickest possible action simply by calling the mayor on the matter. SA A U D SD

31. Sometimes I discuss provincial affairs with friends. SA A U D SD

32. I read newspaper accounts of City Council activities. SA A U D SD

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PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS CAREFULLY AND INDICATE WHAT YOU CONSIDER TO BE THE BEST ANSWER BY <u>CIRCLING</u> THE ANSWER LETTER TO THE RIGHT OF THE PAGE.

33. If the day after I had received a traffic ticket for speeding I wanted to contest the charge because I felt I was innocent, I would first:

a. go to the chief of police
b. seek the advice of a lawyer
c. plead with the officer who issued the ticket
d. challenge the case openly in court
e. not know what to do A B C D E

34. The most effective way to influence a city council is to:

a. stage a demonstration in front of city hall
b. try to influence a number of city council members individually
c. contact the mayor
d. begin a campaign to gain public support, and then present my case to council
e. write a letter, or letters, to the editor of a local newspaper to gain public support

A B C D E

35. If I wanted to change the speed limit in front of my home, I would <u>first</u>:

a. write the provincial minister of highways
b. write an editorial in the local newspaper to get public support
c. form a pressure group and present a petition to city or town council
d. consult a lawyer
e. not know what to do

A B C D E

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## SUMMARY OF PILOT PROJECT

A. Purpose

The purpose of this pilot project was to determine the transferability of the process developed in the model case study.

To develop the case study method the siting of the University of Lethbridge was used. In this study the siting of the Holiday Inn was used.

B. Introduction

1. The students were given the questionaire which had been developed to study student apathy and alienation to different levels of government. This questionaire was then analyzed and the results discussed with the students.

2. Two readings were used as an introduction to the problems of municipal government and how decisions are determined.

C. Case Study

I. Two hypotheses were introduced to the students:

1. General - Pressure groups influence the decision making process of municipal government.

2. Specific - Pressure groups influenced the decision of City Council to approve the site of the Holiday Inn.

II. After a discussion of related terminology the students, with my help, organized themselves into six groups to study this problem. The groups were:

1. Official Groups - e.g. Old Man River Planning Commission
2. Interest Groups - e.g. Mr. Batty, City Council members
3. Business Associates - e.g. Other hotel owners, Shopper's World Complex
4. Private Citizens
5. Traffic Study
6. Group to take pictures

III. The students as a class developed a set of questions to ask these people.

IV. For three days the students were involved in their group work.

V. After the interviews were completed the students analysed the data found in the interviews plus newspaper reports. These were analysed under the following headings: A. Order of Events
B. Groups involved in the situation
C. Factual Statements
D. Opinion Statements
E. Value Judgments

VI. After several days of individual and class work the majoity of students came up with the following conclusions related to the two hypotheses.

1. If you consider the best interests of the city as a whole the development was an asset for Lethbridge.

2. Regarding pressure groups -

(a) If you consider Mr. Batty a pressure group then pressure groups did play a role in the decision of City Council.
(b) If you consider only the citizens protesting the development as a pressure group they did not influence City Councils' decision as their reasons were basically value issues.
(c) Pressure froups can influence municipal government to varying degrees.

D. As a concluding exercise the students used a role playing situation involving a City Council meeting holding a public hearing to close 4 Avenue South.

E. <u>Conclusion</u>

In my opinion the process developed in the model case study can be used to study any municipal issue where pressure groups are involved.

The students' enjoyed working in this manner very much. They became involved in the issue and at the conclusion could state quite clearly --- 1. Their reasons for approving or disapproving of City Councils' decision.
2. The role that pressure groups played in the issue.

Twelve pages have been omitted for reproduction purposes. The pages contain numerous newspaper articles from Montreal and Toronto papers. Some of the titles are:

Street Reopened; Hearing on November 16

City Avenue New Closed

Packed House Expected Tonight for Hearing on Avenue Closing

## EFFECTS OF PRESSURE GROUPS ON POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING

## A CASE STUDY: ST. LÉONARD (QUEBEC)

The object of this research is to gather material on the influence exerted by the various pressure groups involved in the controversy surrounding the school-language issue in St. Léonard-de-Port-Maurice, a suburb in the east-end of Montreal.

Sources:

1) Briefs, commission reports and studies.

   Such documents have been prepared for the draft of Bill 85 and for the Gendron Commission (on the usage of French and linguistic rights of minorities in Quebec). However, none has been published so far. In addition, access to these non-published sources was restricted by the strike of the public service employees during the research period.

2) Films.

   So far, no film has been released or is under production. However, I was told that the "Challenge for Change" program of the National Film Board was considering the possibility.

   Researchers can have access to news films shown on CBC by contacting Mrs. Louise Nantel at Radio-Canada (French CBC) in Montreal.

3) Newspaper reports.

   These provide the core material of the present research.

   Were used: Le Devoir (Montreal)
   La Presse (Montreal)
   Montreal Star (Montreal)
   The Gazette (Montreal)
   Globe and Mail (Toronto)

   Of all, Le Devoir offers the best coverage of the question. However, the Globe and Mail of Toronto, using CP releases, gave the best concise and generally unbiased coverage. Therefore, photo copies of the best articles are taken from the Globe and Mail for facts and general background, and from Le Devoir for additional facts and serious interpretations.

Surprisingly enough, it was found that little has been said, or at least written. Day after day, the history of the controversy was repeated with few additions. Therefore, it appears that to get further insight, indepth interviews would have to be conducted.

Other Sources:

The book "Le Panier de Crabes" (J. Proulx), although not written for this purpose, provides interesting insight into the parliamentary procedures taken around the issue. Personal acquaintance with the author, M.N.A. (Member of the National Assembly of Quebec) during the controversy and an opponent to Bill 85 and Bill 63 which were aimed at solving the conflict, brings us to believe in the validity of the report. Unfortunately, we were unable to get a copy of the book. Therefore, a sample of the main references to St. Léonard were photo copied from a personal copy.

We also surveyed the magazines which might have covered the issue. Only three articles were found. (They are included in the Xerox material.)

Finally, we were told that the Italian newspaper "Il Cittadino Canadese" did a full coverage of the conflict, though it was biased. Despite this advice from our informer, we were unable to locate the relevant issues.

## THE ISSUE

St. Léonard is a suburb in the east-end of the Montreal Island. About 52% of the population is of French origin and about 40% were of Italian origin in 1968. Most of these immigrants want their children to be educated (in school) in English since English is the language of business and work ("if you want a good job") in Quebec. In addition, the knowledge of the English language guarantees mobility in the work market through North America. These conditions are also to be found in most urban centers in Quebec.

In St. Léonard, the catholic school board (elementary level) therefore set up, in 1962, bilingual schools to accommodate the demand for teaching in English. However, in these five bilingual grade schools, most of the instruction was given in English. In May 1968, after revising the experiment, the local school board decided and passed a resolution to eliminate bilingual schools.

In June 1968, eleven organizations representing 60,000 parents and 5,300 teachers announced that they would launch an all-out campaign to retain teaching

in English in St. Léonard's schools. On the other side of the coin stood the "Mouvement pour l'Intégration scolaire" (MIS) and nationalist groups which were making representation for French instruction to non-English-speaking immigrants in order to integrate these to the French community, since the majority of Quebec's population is French-speaking.

Therefore the issue could not be a-political and strictly local for long. Political scientists would tell you that, in Quebec, local school boards are the training ground for future municipal, provincial and national politicians. When the St. Léonard English-speaking parents' association launched its campaign to oppose the decision of the school board, they already had the support of 10 outside organizations. They made the issue public, appealing to the courts as well as to the provincial and federal governments. Therefore, the MIS took a similar approach, gaining the support of outside organizations, and giving itself provincial objectives. At that point, and throughout most of the crisis, the language question, then under investigation by the provincial and federal governments, was predominant.

## GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE CONTROVERSY

For the researcher, the St. Léonard's school-language question is impossible to circumscribe. One needs to know the B & B report to realize the importance of bilingualism for the federal government. The studies done by Jacques Henripin[1] and his students, of the Department of Demography at the University of Montreal, brought to light the emergency to take measures in order to preserve the French language in Canada. The Gendron Commission (Quebec government), the "Livre noir du français" by the Association of French teachers, the Bill 85 and Bill 63 controversies are some of the most publisized manifestations of the language "crisis" in Quebec.

At the same time, one needs to know the education situation in Quebec at the time. Following the Parent Report in the early sixties, new educational structures were built up: a department of education was created, the public sector was greatly expanded, CEGEP's (post-secondary institutions before university more or less equivalent to the American Junior and Community Colleges) were set up. In sum, more people had access to education, and, in most parts,

[1]Henripin, J. & Legare, J., "Evolution démographique du Québec et de ses régions, 1966-1986", Québec, Presses de l'U. Laval, 1969.

education was transferred in the hands of laymen.

However, in 1968, some of the old structures remained. Though there was only one department of education, students were either catholic or protestant. You had the catholic school boards with mainly French but also English schools where the English-speaking population was sufficient, and you had the protestant system with also both types of schools. This denominational division brought the compromise solution of 1962 where the catholic school board of St. Léonard set up bilingual schools to meet the demand of instruction in English. When, in 1968, the issue broke out, the conditions had not changed. This brought the controversial Bill 62 which still has not been passed in parliament. Bill 62 was aimed to redistribute schools, school boards and students of Montreal according to linguistic rather than denominational divisions. It is very interesting to see how pressure groups, but mainly school boards and churches succeeded in blocking during three years (two governments: the "union nationale" which first presented the bill, and now the Liberal party) the adoption of the bill.

This indicates the huge importance taken by the St. Léonard controversy in the provincial (Quebec) and sometimes national political scene. Most observers of the St. Léonard controversy agree therefore that St. Léonard was the first blaze of a fire now under control but still burning. By this we mean that the federal government proposition of bilingual districts has not yet been accepted by the Quebec government and various pressure groups; that the legislations following the coming publication of the Gendron Report have not been passed and will most likely face the opposition of the "Mouvement Québec-Français" which regroups the organizations which opposed to Bill 63; that the attempts to make French the official language for work in Quebec (all parties agree on this point) have so far failed; that the school re-structuration is still to be done. Until solutions to these problems will be found, the St. Léonard file won't be closed.

Therefore, one cannot expect of this research to be global and final. Though the Italian group claims a victory in St. Léonard because they are controlling the school board, have established English schools, and that they are turning "St. Léonard into an 'anglophone' municipality", our intimate knowledge of Quebec's nationalist forces brings us to say that more is to come.

We therefore have attempted to inventory the groups, organizations, and individuals directly related to the issue and to present their role in the

controversy. The written material is intended to mention information not published and to situate the controversy into its context. Unfortunately, intimate details have been omitted due to the lack of information. This explains the lack of a day-to-day account of the development of the controversy.

Finally, we must say that, with few exceptions, these written pages do not include photo copied material.

THE PRESSURE GROUPS INVOLVED

1) Supporting the preservation and/or the extension of instruction in English for all children whose parents want them to be educated in English:

St. Léonard Parents' Association
Federation of Catholic Parent-teacher Association of Quebec
Parents' Association for Catholic Education of Quebec
Montreal Council of Parent-teacher Association
Lakeshore Council of Parent-teacher Association
Provincial Association of Catholic teachers
Federation of English-Speaking Catholic Teachers of Montreal
Dorval Association of Catholic Teachers
Federation of English-Speaking Catholic Teachers of Pointe-Claire and Beaconsfield
Provincial Association of Catholic Principals
Association of Catholic Principals of Montreal
Association of General Directors

2) Supporting the resolution adopted by the St. Léonard School Board (the children of immigrants of non-British origin will be educated in French) in May 1968:

Mouvement pour l'intégration scolaire (MIS)
Union Générale des Etudiants du Québec (UGEQ)
Front de Libération populaire (FLP)
Société Nationale populaire (SNP)
Ralliement pour l'Indépendance Nationale (RIN)
Société St-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal
Fédération des Sociétés St-Jean-Baptiste du Québec
Fédération des Enseignants de Montréal
Club Fleur-de-lys (Québec)
Comité de citoyens de Hochelaga-Maisonneuve
Comité d'Action politique du Conseil Central de Montréal de la Confédération des Syndicats nationaux (CSN)
Mouvement Souveraineté-Association, sections d'Olier et de la Rive-Sud
Conseil québécois de la légitimité nationale

3) Other groups and predominent personalities involved more or less directly in the controversy:

Les unions de familles de la Rive-Sud
Front du Québec français
Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montreal
Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal
The Provincial Liberal party of Notre-Dame de Grâce
Canadian Unity, Right and Equality
Rev. Patrick Malone (president of Loyola College of the University of Montreal)
Nick Ciamana (managing editor of the "Il Cittadino Canadese")
Mgr. Paul Gregoire (Archbishop of Montreal-Catholic)

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MAIN EVENTS

November 1967 - Decision by the local (elementary level) catholic school board of St. Léonard to make the five bilingual elementary schools into mainly French schools.

June 3, 1968 - English-speaking parents, with the support of ten outside organizations launch a campaign to oppose the resolution. According to their spokesman, Rev. Patrick Malone, the resolution "contravenes Christian principles", as well as the resolutions (recommendations). Therefore, St. Léonard was a test case on the rights of English-language education in Quebec.

It was also announced that the two candidates would be Frank Vatrano and Tom Ornawka. They would run against two incumbent trustees (one being the president of the school board), and two candidates for the MIS. If Vatrano and Ornawka were elected, they would join the only representative of the minority and thus control the school board (5 members).

June 10, 1968 - Election day. Victory of the two MIS candidates, Jean Girard and Raymond Langlois. These join Jacques Deschenes (supporter of unilingualism) and thus control the school board.

At this point, the "Ralliement National" (RN), the "Ralliement pour l'indépendance nationale" (RIN), some sections of the "Mouvement Souveraineté-association" (MSA), as well as 20 French-Canadian organizations support the MIS in his campaign to eliminate English language schools throughout Quebec. The MIS then claims to have 1000 members.

Then on, for Raymond Lemieux, president of the MIS, "we are on our way to a real victory on a Quebec wide scale". Immigrants to a basically French province should fit their children first to their French "milieu". This claim was supported by Marcel Masse, state minister for education, and Jean-Guy Cardinal, education minister: "I think Quebec is mostly French and that this fact must be considered in any solution".

June 11, 1968 - Answering the new-Canadians who hold they have the right to choose the language in which their children will be educated, Daniel Johnson, premier of Quebec, declared that "policies involving language...cannot be upset by local referendums or election of school board officials". "To try to integrate anybody by force, this cannot be done in 1968 and it will not be done even though it has been done for decades in other parts of the country." However, "Quebec must strengthen its position as a French province".

While the anglophones claim discrimination in St. Léonard, the nationalists want to stop the stream of immigrants (9070) who send their children to English-language schools. What can be done? Cardinal says he cannot prevent the new board of education from exercising its mandate: "Quebec school boards had always been left free to decide the language question". However, the provincial liberals, and the federal government, want the rights of the minority to be guaranteed. The same stand was taken by René Le Vesque, president of the MSA.

Therefore, the board of education of St. Léonard was asked to meet with Cardinal. Over the next two years, a series of meetings will be held of which few records have been kept.

June 18, 1968 - A group of parents (English-speaking) contest the school board election on grounds of irregularities.

June 28, 1968 - The school board votes to convert schools to a French-only system starting with grade I in September 1968.

August 30, 1968 - 80-90 French students barricade themselves in Aimé-Renaud High School which was to be turned over to English-speaking students for financial reasons (cost of transportation).

September 1, 1968 - English-speaking parents vote to keep their children out of the elementary schools for one day.

September 3, 1968 - Cardinal worked out a compromise: both francophones and anglophones will attend Aimé-Renaud. However, he put forward a French-first policy for the education of immigrant children in Quebec much similar to the actual position of the Parti Québéquois. "While the rights of the minority must be respected, those of the majority must also be respected...newcomers should recognize the language of the majority." In fact, the department of education has no plans to block the decision of the local school board. In fact, no law guarantees schooling in any one of the two official languages. Cardinal's plan is rejected by the MIS because it maintains a status quo.

September 5, 1968 - End of the sit-in. Victory for the MIS. The regional school board (secondary level) has reversed its decision.

September 6, 1968 - New pursuits by anglophone parents.

September 12, 1968 - 2000 anglophones march on Ottawa. Trudeau reminds Daniel Johnson of his promise to protect English-language rights.

December 9, 1968 - Presentation of Bill 85 aimed at solving the crisis.

March 18, 1969 - The new premier, Jean-Jacques Bertrand (after the death of Daniel Johnson) claims that the members of the Union Nationale (referring to J. G. Cardinal) which are separatists should join the Parti Québécois.

June 9, 1969 - L. Barone easily wins a seat on the school board.

September 1, 1969 - The "Ligue pour l'intégration scolaire" (LIS), which replaced the MIS, rejects Cardinal's proposal of a private English school subsidized by the government.

September 8, 1969 - Boycott by 2000 English students.

September 12, 1969 - Riot. 39 persons injured. R. Lemieux faces charges for seditious statements and participating in a riot.

March 23, 1971 - Italians achieve majority on the local school board.

FURTHER INFORMATION

For P. E. Trudeau, the St. Léonard crisis stresses the importance of a chart of human rights.

For Quebec nationalists, St. Léonard offers the opportunity to rectify the condition of the French language in Quebec which is threatened. Legislations never guaranteed the right to an English education. However, by custom, Quebec's anglophones had access to English schools. Following pressures from the minority, the government tried to pass Bill 85, which became Bill 63, which would guarantee legally this right. These bills were officially intended to promote the French language despite one paragraph giving to the parents the choice of the language of education for their children. The Bill 85 was blocked by internal opposition within the Union Nationale. One year later, Bill 63, which was in fact a copy of Bill 85, was passed with the approbation of the opposition. This despite Cardinal's position that no legislation was necessary to protect the rights of the English minority, and despite Bertrand's statement that, in Quebec, the French question is live or die.

The organizations and groups which supported the MIS didn't intervene, for most cases, directly in the St. Léonard crisis. Their support came with the battle against Bill 85 and Bill 63. The main exceptions were the FLP and RIN which took part in demonstrations, the CNTU which paid fines for those arrested and the SSJB which formally supported the MIS.